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## ORBIT 50

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# THE SUM OF OUR DIFFERENCES: 

## An Exploration of Second Language Learning in Canadian Society

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In Canada today we are faced with an unprecedented push toward secondlanguage learning from two separate directions. On the one hand, the hope that Canada might have a better chance to survive as a nation if more of us could speak both English and French has led to a proliferation of types of French instruction in the schools, with a range from immersion nurseries to 20 minutes a day in Grade 6 as favored approaches. On the other hand, the reality of our cities is the wide variety of languages and cultures brought to Canada by the steady influx of immigration, most particularly in the last 20 years, and the existence of many hundreds of thousands of children in the public schools for whom English is not the language of the home. In the city of Toronto reliable estimates place this phenomenon at about 60 percent of the city's households. This presents a very real second-language learning situation which virtually every urban school district is now facing, usually unsuccessfully.

It is essential that teachers in the primary grade classrooms recognize the cultural lifestyle, the values, and the language that each child comes with when he or she begins to participate in the learning process. The educational mores of the classroom should be such that the child and what is brought with the child are not only supported and fostered, but respected; and in the classroom, then, when the child comes in, the language that the child comes in with is supported. So Ted says 'Hi,' Maria says 'Bon Giorno,' Jacques says 'Bon Jour,' and Avi says 'Shalom.' While this seems like a rather small point, it is, in fact, the point of entrance, and it does recognize the greeting and the need for a child to be greeted, to make use of the style which has been his or hers for several years. It carries with it also the idea that the child is respected for what he already is, not only for how he performs in a classroom.

Inside the classroom the teacher attempts to create an atmosphere where there is stimulation, a variety of materials, and a freedom for the child to make use of these materials in concert with his own interes's and developmental level. The teacher needs to understand this development level and to make available to the
child materials which are going to be useful in that process. This means that the teacher determines what is educationally appropriate to the child and helps, through the teaching relationship to the child, to form a cognitive framework for the child. This cognitive framework implies that the child is a participant in the learning situation, and following from the above the teacher talks, asks questions, criticizes, and acts as a catalyst to the child's learning. The child, in turn, listens, questions, even criticizes; and in so doing helps the teacher to formulate and reformulate educational framework and goals.
In this classroom, language, then, is not taught. Rather, language, both the first language and the second language, becomes an outgrowth of interpersonal engagement between child and teacher and child and child, and is understood to be partly a function of maturation. In teaching the second language, the teacher makes use of both languages: the home language and the second language to be taught. There is support and respect for the home language, and conversational modelling of the second. In this classroom there is no separation between the first and the second language. There are no separations for the


Should we try so hard to formally 'teach' a second language?
teacher who teaches both languages, but rather the goals and strategies are developed in relation to the listening and talking capacities of the children. The environment is one which encourages play involving construction activity and makes use of situations and materials which are familiar to the child in his native environment; those which he or she has already made use of and therefore can converse about. Conversational dialogues are encouraged, making use of nouns in the second language. The Teacher may say 'Please sit on la chaise.' The child says 'I want to stand.' The teacher says 'When you have finished standing, please sit on la chaise.' In this classroom the child smiled and said 'Soon I will sit on the chaise.' The example is small, but the attitude is important. The introduction of the second language is done in as natural a way as possible, making use of all teachable moments and making sure that the answers that are given to the child are understood
by him. For example, Jimmy says 'When are we going to the supermarket?' and the teacher responds with another question 'How many children are going to le bon marché?'

Obviously, this process is substantially more complicated when English is the second language and the teacher doesn't speak the first language, or in many city schools, the several first languages which children in the class bring with them. Teaching French to English-speaking children is far easier for the teacher who speaks both; classrooms where the majority of the children share the same first language and the teacher also speaks it are comparable if somewhat rare in the reality of modern urban neighbourhoods. It is not unusual to find schools where as many as six to seven languages are quite common. An additional complication in such schools is the mixture of children from monolingual homes and bilingual homes, recent immigrants and second generation children who
all share one first language but whose knowledge of it may be very different, or whose dialects are so diverse that the children are even more confused by the 'same but not same' language.
The advantage of a multilingual classroom may be that children quickly perceive English as a common denominator which can be used in play and in the classroom; it seems better to choose a mutual additional language than for any of them to learn the language of any other one of them. Thus learning English becomes a practical tool rather than an emotional or cultural compromise in much the same way as it has in Western Europe, for example. The major disadvantage, obviously, is the impossibility of providing in one classroom either a teacher who speaks and understands seven other languages or seven teachers who each speak one other language. The question of how to support the first language and use it to work into the second naturally in such multilinguistic situations is a major problem facing us in the teaching of English as a second language. The only practical solution would seem to be segregation of children by first language in particular schools, by busing if necessary, but this has such vast negative social, emotional, educational and political ramifications as to make it, I feel, both unwise and unethical.
It seems clear that it is important to help the child simply feel good about the second language, and to recognize that it is through social interaction that the child is going to learn the syntax of the second language. Implicit in learning another language successfully is the very strong and consistent support of the parents. 'The importance of taking into account the possible effects of socioaffective centering of input of child verbal performance cannot be overemphasized. When a child's speech is not entirely consonant with that of the speakers to whom the child is being compared (say, the teacher or certain other children in the community), one may not simply assume that the discrepency is the result of delayed or incorrect learning: it is entirely possible that due to certain sociolinguistic circumstances the child prefers to acquire forms other than those used as the norm. This very important distinction between cannot learn versus prefers not to learn must be made before it is justifiable to conclude that the child's speech is the result of learning disabilities' Dulay \& Bert, 1978, p. 69).
Also important is the recognition of the non-learning which may happen due to an adverse emotional reaction quite reasonable in the immigrant child who feels that the second language is somehow seen by the teacher as 'better' or 'more important' than the language he has brought to school with him. His resistance to learning a language which implicitly criticizes not only his first language but also the culture from which it springs and thus his family, may be a real barrier to second language
learning. An additional factor in such a situation may be the ambivalence of his family toward his learning a language which they quite possibly do not speak, or not fluently, and in which they are not literate. The child's learning of this language, although recognized as essential to his progress in school and in the larger society which it represents, can also be felt as a blow to family unity, the first wedge between the child and his roots. It represents a lack of control of the family over the child, since then he can talk, read and write in a language they can't share, absorbing information they then can neither counter nor censor.
'Language is the Holy of Holies of culture' (Downing, 1973), and to understand this more fully the work of Osterberg incidates 'Pupils have difficulty in grasping the links between extra-mural life and intra-mural work. Experiences derived in the previous environment are consciously or unconsciously pushed into the background as unfavored phenomena. What is learned at school obtains no natural anchorage in the children's experiences and spontaneous observations. The school's study content then becomes a separate phonomenon. Progress does not proceed from the concrete, the already known. The material assimilated becomes associated with theoretical constructions and psychic contents, which in structure and functions have no roots in practical life outside the school . . . The school is constructing a system of study and contributing to a position of personality development which lacks two fundamental qualities - continuity and personal integration' (Osterberg, 1961).

For these reasons second language learning situations can be drastically different. The middle class English speaking child in a French Immersion program seen as socially and educationally valuable, receiving strong support from parents who quite possibly also have at least an academic knowledge of French, learns French faster and more thoroughly, as well as more happily with fewer possibly negative ramifications, than the immigrant child learns English from a teacher who probably doesn't speak the child's language and with parents who may be non-English-speaking and ambivalent in their support as well as unable to help by reinforcing English usage at home. The issue of support for both first and second language, both at home and at school, is thus seen to be the critical one for successful learning; we are far from sure how to go about making English-as-a-second-language teaching more effective, either educationally or emotionally, than it is at present because of these social and emotional factors which have such great impact on the child and his overall development.

If we are going to achieve a multicultural nation, then we must take into account what John Downing has stated so emphati-
cally at an International Congress in Australia in 1973. We must also recognize that when we start to talk to a child in a language that is different from his own, we are, in a sense, attacking the individual's language because we imply that this other language must be learned because we are teaching it; and as Tax (1965) states, 'they (children) often cannot do what the teacher asks, things which seem to them, consciously or unconsciously to denigrate their homes, their past, and their culture.'

It is also essential for educators to recognize how much children learn from each other, how much they pick up from contact with each other, not only in terms of language, but on many other levels. We only need to watch children of different languages playing together in the playground to see them making use of each other's language, first as nouns and then as verbs, as well as making use of gestures and helping each other as translators. Children will, on occasion, make up words using the sounds of the second language; again, an indication of the very strong auditory bias that young children have. They do want to learn, they are keen about communication, but they need to be presented with an environment that encourages, not discourages, second language learning. It hardly seems that there is a language interference when children are playing in the playground or the back yard. They use languages appropriately, and do not seem confused, they listen carefully, and they help each other.

Perhaps we as educators could be more successful in second language teaching if we took our cues from the children's natural way of learning to communicate shared play, fun, and exploration lead naturally to a desire to also share responses and enthusiasms, to communicate in spite of a language barrier. This is as true for two children who don't share a common language as it is initially for the very young child and his mother, who mix facial expressions, gestures, pantomime, baby talk, private words and 'real' words in varying proportions over time as they struggle to communicate: Children know how to learn a language much more instinctively and effectively than we know how to teach one, and this thought should be in our minds constantly when we are trying so hard to formally 'teach' a second language to those we may too often perceive as 'receivers' rather than 'sources' of communication skills. Equally as important as this social and cognitive part of the process of learning a second language are all the emotional and cultural components we have quickly touched on - as Downing so ably put it, 'in many countries the awareness that cultural and linguistic mismatch causes educational failure is quite faint. We must take into account that the child's first language or his first dialect is extremely important, and we must make sure that this is well-grounded
and accepted by the child, and that he does not feel as though he is suddenly split off from a world that he has known for all of his life' (Downing, 1973).

It is not only in second language learning, but in all formal learning situations, that we are not yet consistent and coherent enough about the importance of real interaction between child and teacher. Again Downing, in the conclusion of his paper, put it very well: 'If our educational goals are going to be achieved with a greater degree of success, the model must become more of a two-way one. The educator and the school must be more ready to find themselves wrong and to adapt themselves to the reality of each child's world as the child perceives it through the child's culture and the child's own language' (Downing, 1973).

We are all living in a critical time in a nation which often seems more divided than unified by many forces most of us only dimly understand; thus we, as adults, are hardly in a position to claim sure knowledge of all that it is important to know for the future. Children have always known things. perceived things, felt things which, shared with us in trust, add richness and wonder to our faded perceptions of things too often seen. Never has there been a time in Canada when this is more true than today; never a place where this can more fruitfully and easily happen than a classroom shared with children from many backgrounds, with many languages, if only we can make ourselves open, receptive, welcoming and honestly respectful of the 'knowings' they bring from their world for us. All of us - parents, teachers, and children of every culture and race - have something unique to share, things to learn from each other, which can only make us richer as people, more unified as a nation, safer because to not know is to fear, and wiser as we come to realize that the sum of our differences is still far less than the sum of our shared, universal human experiences.

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Robert M. Buckthorpe, Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation

Are teacher 'job security' and declining student enrolments mutually exclusive? The simple answer is no. The reality is, however, that several factors have combined to make the public believe that the answer should be yes.

The country's economic background, with high unemployment and inflation, has led the public to react to teacher demands for jobs or no cutbacks by saying that teachers should have no more job security than other members of society. This attitude has been fostered by a basic ignorance of the nature of teacher negotiations, by the media (which doesn't hesitate to print only part of the story), and by the Provincial Government,

## Education - The Great Panacea

First, some historical perspective should be given. Education after World War II was seen as a prerequisite for success, a privilege offered freely to our children, a panacea for society's ills. Children were to be given all those things which generations of parents had been denied through two world wars and a depression. University education became more generally available. Courses were expanded, special schools were built, and standards were adjusted to keep many thousands of children in school who in previous years would have dropped out. No amount of money spent on education was considered to be wasted.

During the 1960s, this attitude reached its height. Experimental schools and curricula abounded. Universities were full to capacity. Inevitably, however, a better educated youth, having been given more freedom than any generation in history, began to question long-held traditions and to rebel against their elders. A prosperous society allowed this to occur and a basic change in life-style began. Never again
could the older generation get away with, 'Do as I say, not as I do!' Patriotism and respect for government and established institutions were no longer automatic. The 1970s had arrived.

Throughout this entire period, the schools were bursting at the seams. Teachers were in short supply. Promises were continually made that when the 'baby boom' was over, the schools would be able to lower class size and offer programs for which there were not enough teachers (nor was there space) at the moment. It had become generally recognized that courses should be offered which would help students cope with life better and also could help them make use of their future leisure time in a society which would increasingly have more leisure time. Job training and straight academics were no longer enough.

## Political Priorities

The first hint of future troubles for education came when the Provincial Government imposed ceilings on education spending. The Government's and the public's attitude toward the cost of education was shifting.

Teachers began to realize that their jobs depended on the whims of political priorities rather than on the needs of education. During the 'baby boom,' job security had not been an issue of concern. But as the Provincial Government's attitude toward education became apparent, teachers began to press more strongly for job security in contracts. At the same time they began to demand salaries more commensurate with their required level of education and training. Teacher strikes occurred for the first time in Ontario's history. The public reacted with shock, anger and disbelief as if, for some reason, teachers, of all groups in society, should be above such petty considerations as salary and working conditions. Presumably, teachers were to be more akin to priests than to factory workers. Strikes were bitter and divided
communities. The media had a field day whipping up anti-teacher hysteria. As long as teachers were servile, they were considered to be 'dedicated'. As soon as they showed they had human needs and faults, however, their position as role models for children came under question, as well as their 'dedication.'

## After the 'Baby Boom'

With this background, the 'baby boom' came to an end and declining enrolments loomed on the horizon. At the same time, the Provincial Government decided to make education bear a large part of the brunt of balancing their badly-managed provincial budget. The Government began by reducing the percentage of its grants to municipalities for education, thereby forcing the local property taxes to remain at the same level or higher rather than reflecting any of the savings in education spending due to declining enrolments. The Government also abandoned its Edmonton Commitment to help communities keep pace with inflation through grants which would match the inflation rate. As a smoke screen, the Government set up the Jackson Commission on Declining Enrolments which, when it recommended lower class sizes and greater Government financial support for education, was promptly shelved.

Boards of Education, caught in the financial squeeze of grants which did not meet the inflation rate, began to cut programs and fire teachers rather than raise local taxes and thus risk the ire of the taxpayers. After all, education is the only item se parated out on a tax bill for the public to take issue with.
Teacher groups responded by taking stronger stands in contract negotiations for job security and salaries which kept pace with inflation. The final year of the 1970s has arrived.

## False Premises

Until recently, the public has reacted negatively to teacher demands for job
security. Their feelings have been based on several false premises, the first of which is that teacher jobs and education costs should go down in direct proportion to the decline in student enrolments. The Jackson Commission destroyed that myth, but the Government continues to foster it. The fixed costs of an education system cannot go down in proportion to student decline. In fact, the fixed costs (e.g. heating, lighting, plant maintenance) continue to rise with inflation.

The second false premise is that the product of education, the young adult, can be compared to the product of an industry. If an industry loses sales, they can cut staff without affecting their ability to produce the product or the quality of the product. They simply won't produce as many.

In education, however, one cannot cut programs by firing teachers, nor can one cut support staff and increase class size without adversely affecting both the child and the sum product of the child's education and attitude. A child is not a car or a piece of furniture. The complex nature of education negates any simplistic economic comparison between a reduction in the number of children and an economic slump in industry. Children are still our most precious resource and the child of today requires as good an education as the children of yesterday. In fact, considering the complexity of our present technological society and the fast pace of life, the child needs an even better education.

This leads to the third false premise upon which the public bases its reaction to teacher demands for job security. When the vast majority of the public think of the teacher in the classroom, they picture the classroom and education as it was when they were in school. Most commonly, one will hear, 'A teacher could handle fifty kids in one class when I was in school.' Many important changes have taken place since the fifties and sixties which make the environment in the classroom and the very nature of the student different.

First, the attitude to education has become one of taking it for granted rather than as a privilege or as a right to be earned. Secondly, the students are not guaranteed employment when they leave school and may have to look to several careers during their lifetimes. This affects their view of the usefulness of what they are doing. Thirdly, social unrest and public distrust of politicians and Establishment institutions is reflected in the students' attitudes towards schools. 'Fourthly, student-oriented rather than teachercentred programs demand more individual attention and smaller class sizes. In addition, because of the cutback philosophy, many courses designed to assist the child in achieving a fuller life in the modern world are the first to be cut as 'frill' courses because they do not fit in with the traditional view of core program.

Man's knowledge is doubling every decade. There is simply more to teach in
the same time than there was twenty years ago. The ability of the teacher to keep up with the knowledge explosion, let alone the child's ability to absorb it, is severely limited by heavier workloads and larger class sizes due to cutbacks. New techniques and teaching aids require more time for professional de velopment by teachers. The 'Three Rs' alone will not prepare today's child for today's world. Last, but certainly not least in its importance, is that the post-Watergate, post-Vietnam child is not the same child who sat in the classrooms in the 1950s and 1960s. The whole world is constantly thrust at the modern child through television. Instant live reports of revolutions, wars, political corruption, racial tensions, and violence are the backdrop for the child's view of life and his or her place in the world. The schools can no longer shield the child in a cocoon of idealism. The world as it is must be dealt with in the classroom. Society itself offers no firm set of values to give direction to either the teachers or the students; on the contrary a multiplicity of value systems must be contended with.

One of the greatest myths of the declining enrolment period and one used by pro-cutback trustees and politicians is that the present staff of teachers is sufficient to meet the needs of the current number of students. Therefore, they contend, a declining number of students must result in teacher firings; otherwise it is just job 'featherbedding' for teachers. This is perhaps the most unjust of all arguments against teacher job security unjust to both teachers and students. No one involved in education believes the 'special education' needs of our students are anywhere close to being met. Present English as a Second Language and English as Another Dialect courses also are unable to meet the needs. Educators have spent years developing methods of detecting and correcting learning disabilities of students who would normally become frustrated and drop out of school because their learning disabilities had gone undetected. In the past, these students were often placed in the wrong programs or streams because the proper assessment could not be made. Now, because of the cutback philosophy perpetuated by the Government and trustees, these are the very programs and services being cut.

Moreover, present class sizes do not meet the needs of the ordinary student, let alone students with special needs. The Government and boards of education have gone out of their way to produce studies which prove that class size makes no difference in the quality of education. Suspiciously enough, these studies usually appear just prior to a round of negotiations. Over 100000 Ontario teachers - those people who must deal with the students in the classroom and who are paid to be experts on education - strongly disagree. Their opinion is not based on vested
self-interest either, since any teacher would find it easier to lecture 40 students rather than have to deal individually with a smaller group of 25 . Educationally, however, no teacher believes that the impersonal lecture method will allow him or her oto bring the students to their potential. A recent study by Gene Glass, co-director of the University of Colorado Laboratory of Educational Research, after an exhaustive study of data on nearly 900,000 students, supports the teachers' view that student achievement climbs significantly as class size decreases, especially in classes below twenty pupils. The Glass study is the first by a nationally recognized researcher to make unequivocal statements about the effects of class size on pupil achievement.

Interestingly enough, the Ontario Ministry of Education recently distributed Regulation 704 which contained maximum class sizes for vocational and special vocational students. They obviously believed that class size mattered and that maxima had to be established. When they began to find out how many classes in the present schools exceeded that size and how many teachers would be required, they suddenly realized their whole cutback argument was being undermined. They suspended those regulations and now, it is rumoured that these class size requirements will be seriously watered down or removed. The public is obviously being misled about the necessity to fire teachers because of declining enrolments.

## Teachers Are Not Being Selfish

Increasingly, teachers are finding themselves in confrontation with their boards of education, not so much about salary as about job security and working conditions. Because of the political attitudes of many trustees and their lack of courage in being willing to justify education costs to their constituents, teachers find themselves in a unique position in negotiations. Can you imagine the United Auto Workers taking their members out on strike because the quality of the car product had deteriorated? Not likely! Teachers, however, are faced with having to strike to maintain enough teachers in the contract to be able to offer basic programs to children. Teachers are fighting for the special education and ESL programs, for smaller class sizes - all the things promised after the 'baby boom' which have not materialized. Public reaction varies from bare tolerance to outright hostility depending on the area and the extent of the problem. A major factor seems to be that a greater percentage of taxpayers no longer have children in the schools. Few members of the public would deny a child a needed program. When the boards distort the teacher demands as being motivated by solely vested selfinterest, however, this large percentage of taxpayers who don't have children in school become understandably hostile.

Fortunately, some small beginnings of support for program needs and against
teacher firings and cutbacks have begun. In Toronto, on May 3, 1979, 3500 parents and teachers joined together to oppose teacher firings. Parents had at last seen through the Government's propaganda and had witnessed for themselves the deleterious effect of teacher firings on their children's education. If that support grows, teacher job security will be a non-issue. With long waiting lists for special programs, more teachers are needed, not fewer.

## Misleading Medịa Reports

The media have helped to confuse the public over two other issues related to job security for teachers - tenure and seniority. The public is led to believe that these concepts, if included in a contract, would lead to incompetent teachers being protected. The two should never be connected. Teacher evaluation and the procedures for dealing with incompetence are totally separate from either seniority or tenure. With all its shortcomings, the seniority system is the only fair, objective method, not open to abuse by administrators, of designating teachers who are surplus to a school or to a system. All evaluation and merit systems are so open to abuse that their advantages are far outweighed by their disadvantages.

Tenure is another issue altogether and is not just in place to guarantee a teacher a job. Tenure does not mean a job for life regardless of the needs of the system. Tenure is a guarantee that a competent permanent contract teacher covered by the tenure clause will have a job for the life of the collective agreement (normally one or two years). Almost everyone who signs a
contract with an employer is guaranteed at least that. Tenure in education, though, is much more than a job guarantee; it is a guarantee of academic freedom. In any employment situation in which tenure exists, its purpose is the protection of the employee from uncertainties inherent in the working environment. Such uncertainties include political pressures and changes, philosophical differences, and economic/fiscal crises. Tenure was introduced in the Civil Service to encourage the existence of a permanent structure to carry out essential social and political services. Political patronage had not proved conducive to a stable pool of employees committed to public service rather than a party line. Tenure was the insurance required to build and maintain such a pool of committed public servants.

There is a direct parallel in the education system. The trustees of a board of education frequently make decisions with direct implications for the educational program. Decisions to emphasize or diminish certain aspects of the program would pose a constant threat to job security if tenure were not present. At the moment, such program decisions may force teachers to adapt and expand their expertise, but the teacher's position is maintained. In addition, since trustees change every two years, tenure protects teachers from political interference in their ability to offer quality education. The protection of academic freedom was, of course, the overwhelming motivator behind the tenure of university faculties. Again, tenure was insurance for the university system and its ability to freely
pursue ideas against the vagaries of public opinion. Academic freedom is an issue for public school teachers as well. We have come a long way from the days when the curriculum was virtually scripted for the teacher and tenure is part of that progress. Teacher Stress
A last factor in the teaching situation that is not generally recognized is stress. A recent study by the Institute for Psychology at the University of Stockholm and supported by the Canadian Stress Institute, has shown conclusively that teachers comprise the largest salaried group experiencing mental strain on the job - more than most corporate executives. This is in direct contrast to the popular public view of the teacher as someone who has an easy job and who works only six hours a day, ten months a year. The stress factor has been compounded to a great degree by fears of no job security and loss of a much wanted career.

Teaching is an occupation that requires constant giving. The object of the teacher's skill is our future generation. For the Government to jeopardize these students' education for the sake of short-term economic expediency is unconscionable. Their efforts to do so has created a crisis in teacher job security - an issue that should be a non-issue. Declining enrolments and teacher job security are compatible. We should seize this opportunity to make better use of our existing trained teachers. When the school populations begin to rise again in ten years time, the shortage of trained teachers will make today's arguments over job security seem nothing less than ridiculous.

Timothy Rutledge, Trustee Ward 11, Toronto Board of Education

In an era of declining enrolment, school boards are beset by pressures from numerous special interest groups, all insisting that a larger share of dwindling resources should be directed their way. Whether they represent the Association for Children with Learning Disabilities, Canadian Parents for French, or the OSSTF, the message is similar: "Get your priorities straight, implying that the cause for which they lobby is the neediest of the needy, the
worthiest of the worthy, and deserves number one priority.

The trustee's job is not made any easier by the fact that, in most cases, the arguments are cogent and valid. But gone are the days when mere validity will qualify a program for funds. The trustee's role is no longer characterized by corporal debates, periodic boiler inspections, and ribbon-cutting ceremonies. One look at the decrease in provincial funding is enough to make the sleepiest trustee realize that the cutting the Ministry of Education has in mind is done with an axe.

The current operation budget of the Toronto Board of Education is some \$206 million. Of that, approximately 95 percent
is required to fill contractual and legislative requirements. Approximately 86 percent represents people - salaries, wages, and fringe benefits. Hence, as trustees listen to the lobbyists, and bewail the fact that declining provincial support leaves so very little flexibility, they quite naturally, turn to that vast people category as the most likely starting point.

But then the next speaker, the OSSTF district president, is arguing for job security.

Let me point out that I expect union leaders to promote job security. They are elected to protect the interests of their members and clearly the more they can guarantee the tenure of the employee in the
job, the more successful they are judged to be. Job security coupled with seniority is the sine qua rion of the labor movement.

## Tenure Limits Flexibility

For the trustees, for those charged with the responsibility of managing the system, who represent not merely the special interests of employees but the entire electorate to whom they submitted themselves in the first place, job security for teachers, indeed for any employee, is bound up in the question of management rights. Guaranteeing job security for their members is the Federation's way of grabbing a larger share of dwindling resources. Despite the rhetorical argument that more teachers mean a better quality of education, the opposite is equally likely to be the case. The board's inability to lay off decreases its flexibility, its ability to respond to the pressures of other special interests. Thus, for children on special education waiting lists, job security for teachers, regardless of qualifications, may mean no meaningful education at all.

An overriding concern about job security puts the interests of the teacher above those of the child. It confers tenure on the individual without reference to the board's program needs. At this particular time in the history of education delivery in Ontario, as school boards are squeezed by provincial cutbacks on the one hand and teacher militancy on the other, a hidebound insistence on job security, and on seniority as the only valid way of differentiating among teachers, imposes severe strains on the credibility of the boards, especially in the parent communities. How does a trustee explain to a parent the logic of moving a teacher who has spent ten years teaching Grade 8 into a Grade 2 classroom, while at the same time the present superb Grade 2 teacher is forced to leave the school altogether? Surely this is a crazy way to staff a school!

Let me pursue the credibility argument further. Traditional wisdom has it that, at least in the city of Toronto, there are two broad groups of people: those who support efforts to increase teacher numbers (normally parents of school-age children) and those who believe that declining enrolment should be accompanied by a corresponding decrease in teachers and costs (assumed to be those with no direct connection to public schools). That this reasoning is fallacious need not delay us; it is widely promoted and accepted. This view fits conveniently with the workers-versusbosses mimesis without which some trustees find it impossible to understand the world.

This is a very shortsighted approach to enrolment decline. The claim that such decline should be viewed not as a problem but as an opportunity is not supported by a call for job security. Where is the opportunity for the new teacher when there are no new openings and allthe incumbents have their jobs guaranteed? Where is
the opportunity for the students to be exposed to new methods and curricula if these are denied entrance except through dubious 'retraining' programs? Where is the opportunity for parents and other concerned citizens to influence the subject mix or emphasis if no new cards may be added to the deck and certain kinds of expertise are in short supply? This is already happening in the area of French.

## Seven Serious Questions

- For how long will citizens support public education if its employees have tenure while the rest of society does not?
- For how long will citizens support public education if school boards are obliged, as the Toronto board almost certainly will be, to levy a special tax on local property to finance the hiring of extra teachers?
- For how long will citizens support public education if employee bargaining units appear to be having a major role in determining mill rates?
- Can the alliance between parents and teachers, which influenced the Toronto Board's decision not to release any surplus teachers, survive job security provisions which pre-empt the parent's ability to influence 'bumping' procedures, and which make no reference to the quality of individual teaching performance?
- Can the rhetoric of worker exploitation continue to apply to board-teacher relations as the average annual salary (secondary) threatens to break the $\$ 30,000$ barrier?
- Will those parents who have the means place their children in separate, private and independent schools to a greater extent than is now the case, if issues such as discipline, values, and standards appear to take second place to teachers' demands for tenure?
- Will those who have no children in public schools, faced with the above concerns and others, turn increasingly to Proposition 13 -style solutions to ever-rising property taxes?


## Students Should Come First

It is useful to examine the recent actions of the Toronto Board of Education against the background of these questions. On May 3rd of this year faced with 113 elementary school teachers identified as surplus, and being party to a collective agreement with no job security provisions, the Board voted to retain the services of each of the surplus teachers, rather than to lay them off. Some trustees, myself included, tried without success to introduce a motion which would have retained about half that number. We believed that only those teachers whose interests, qualifications, and experience permitted them to teach in the Board's critically understaffed program areas should have been retained.

We felt that the tenure of the teachers should be dependent on the needs of the students as identified by the Board.

However, the Board went ahead and retained all the teachers designated as surplus, regardless of their interests, qualifications, and experience. The trustees placed the teachers' jobs ahead of the children's needs. The effect of the vote was to grant job security to all the teachers; whether or not they could help the children in the greatest need was of secondary importance. In fact, after the Board had decided the program areas to which the 113 teachers would be assigned (again with no reference to the actual people they had retained), the administration was saddled with the job of staffing those programs with existing employees. They had no choice but to wade in among their teachers and lift them out of their current positions, if they had the qualifications to serve in those especially designated program areas.

Toronto Board Chairman, Fiona Nelson, in her Chairman's letter of June 1979, referred to this procedure as "freeing up" teachers with the qualifications being sought. But parent communities of the schools being affected did not view it with the beatific gaze. They saw their schools being plundered, often of the best teachers, and they were furious.
If the surplus teachers had been retained according to their abilities to teach in those areas, then no such heavy handed approach would have been necessary. But the trustees opted instead for this insane method of staffing schools in the name of job security.

Who benefitted from that May 3rd vote? Certainly 113 surplus teachers did. And their federation executive has virtually guaranteed itself re-election. Some trustees, who depended quite heavily on labor and labor-related election support, will benefit too. But the teachers who are now teaching in other schools and other programs as a result of being tapped on the shoulder by the administration have not benefitted. The parents whose schools lost those teachers have little, if any, faith in the political direction of public education. The Board itself, having made such a management decision - which was in fact a decision not to manage at all - has destroyed its credibility in the minds of thoughtful people across the city of Toronto. And the children? If they benefit, it will be thanks to the dedication of their teachers, not the wisdom of their trustees. Score it labor movement 113 , kids 0 .

So I regret to have to inform the OSSTF district president that I will continue to work for increased flexibility, both financial and curricular, for school boards. Since job security for teachers militates against flexibility, I will continue to try to restrict it. For if, in the chaos that tenure creates, the public should come to the conclusion that school boards exist less to educate children than to provide employment, then the credibility of public education will have suffered a blow from which it may never recover.

# What Are You Doing With YOUR Time? 



Mark Holmes, OISE

Tom Wells as Napoleon Bonaparte Teachers squabble over it, parents worry about it, pupils rail at it, administrators wrestle with it - but no one does anything about it. Instructional time is at once the most potent and easily manipulated resource in education, and the least considered. The following story may be apocryphal, but it has some symbolic value anyway. When Tom Wells, then Ontario Minister of Education, gave his troops their orders to retreat from the Shangri La of Moscow, as the bitter storms of winter's reality besieged the brave little battalions (bearing such quaint, anachronistic banners as Lloyd's Open Warfare, Let Both Sides Win, and Let's Abolish Punishment), he mandated that every brigade should produce its own prescriptive, descriptive program for retreat. His second in command asked each brigade to come up with a precise detail of the amount of time needed for its program. It would be nice to
embellish the story and claim that each brigade carried out a task analysis and determined the amount of time actually required, but we must remember that the retreat had to be completed within six months, before the troops were decimated by the Liberally distributed wolves and the ungrateful peasants of the Russian steppes (who appeared curiously disenchanted by their liberation). In any case, the brigades produced their time allocations. Unfortunately, the total of the times demanded far exceeded the time available. The result was that all the 'prescriptive, descriptive' intermediate programs with their mandatory cores were published but without any indication of the time needed for the task.

Variations in Instructional Time in Ontario In practice, Ontario schools vary greatly in their allocation of time. For example, our survey showed that the allocation of eighth grade instructional time for mathematics in Ontario varied from one extreme of 80 minutes per day to the other of 20 minutes per day (with a normal range varying from 40 to 50 ). In science the extreme range was
from 20 minutes to 50 minutes, in social studies from 20 to 90 . The survey carried out by the Hamilton Board of Education demonstrates that there is a wide range even within a single system. Yet all these schools are, apparently, teaching the same mandatory descriptive, prescriptive programs. Although we have not surveyed secondary schools, where, admittedly, the time variation will be much reduced (thanks to the demands of the universally adopted block schedule), it would be a mistake to assume there is no variation. Although each individual secondary school tends to give the same amounts of time to every credit, the amount of time per credit varies among schools depending on the number of credits being earned and the length of the school day. At the extremes, the amount of time allocated per credit probably varies from 35 minutes to 50 minutes per day, with the normal range lying between 40 and 45 . (These figures are averages over a year, irrespective of whether or not schools are semestered). Even those variations on paper are probably conservative in practice, as
schools have different ways of handling such matters as passing time between classes; perhaps as much as 40 minutes per day should be deducted from some schools' stated instructional time.

## Research on Time and Achievement

By this time, if you are still with me, you may be wondering what the pitch is going to be. (I'm coming to it. Be patient). If you are yawning, thinking it doesn't make any difference anyway - it does. But if you are a fanciful romantic, who has wandered mistakenly into this article, speculating that all variations in time are accommodations to the different needs of pupils - then read no further (one of us is beyond redemption). In fact, there has been considerable research on the effects of time on learning, both at the organizational level, usually dealing with allocated time, and at the individual level where researchers have tried to examine time on task.

Large scale international studies suggest that achievement in second language (French and English) is most susceptible to changes in instructional time. Mathematics and science are also affected by changes, while English as a first language and social studies are much less affected. Studies in Canada and in England have reinforced these findings with respect to English and French. Numerous studies of regular French ( 20 minutes per day), extended French ( 40 minutes or more per day) and French immersion (with most instruction in French) have shown consistently that learning the second language is closely related to the amount of time allocated to its instruction. 'Well, of course,' I can hear someone saying, 'only a professor from OISE would expect less learning from more instruction.' Hold your horses! The interesting thing is that the very same studies have shown that increasing the amount of time spent on French (and thus decreasing the amount spent on English) has no negative effects on learning in English or in other subjects.

## The Ontario Intermediate Study

In our study, we looked at achievement on Ontario's Intermediate Tests, ${ }^{2}$ and examined the relationship between that achievement and instructional time allocations provided by the schools' principals. We found statistically significant correlations in the case of French (as expected), $\mathrm{r}=.60(\mathrm{n}=27)$; mathematics, $\mathrm{r}=.35$ ( $\mathrm{n}=39$ ); and geography, $\mathrm{r}=.49(\mathrm{n}=22)$. We found no significant relationship in the case of English and history (even though we used several measures of instructional time, including time for different areas of English and the numbers of written assignments completed). In the case of science, we, rather embarrassingly, found a negative relationship, $r=-.4$ ( $\mathrm{n}=21$ ); that is to say, the more time spent on science, the lower the achievement level.

In the case of English and mathematics, we made a more in-depth on site study of 23 schools (nor randomly selected) where we could hold the different intelligence levels of students in different schools constant. We actually measured the degree to which instructional time could predict achievement of a hypothetical student of average intelligence within each school studied. The findings confirm the larger scale results. One interesting sidelight is that we did find one factor that predicted achievement in written English in these special schools - not time, not written assignments, but the degree to which the research officer visiting the schools judged there was a significant level of academic demand, which might be described as the level of academic atmosphere. The relationship between achievement in written English and the level of academic atmosphere was $61(n=14)$.

Now relationships don't mean cause and effect. One can't conclude from one small study that instructional time makes a difference in French, geography, and math and makes no useful difference in English and science. One obvious question concerns the measures of achievement. If the tests measured genuine objectives in French but spurious ones in English, that would explain the results. Obviously, I don't believe that is the case. In fact, I believe our tests of reading and written English (i.e. original student writing) are, if anything, more valid measures of Ontario's objectives than is our test of French comprehension. However, the Ontario findings must also be considered in the light of other studies in other places.

## - What Conclusions can be Drawn?

'Ah, this is where we get the shot,' our cynical reader will be thinking. I do believe that Ontario educators should take seriously the growing evidence about the factors that seem to make a difference to student achievement, and instructional time is certainly one of those factors. There are at least three possible reactions to the kinds of findings I have summarized. The easiest and most obvious one is to ignore or discount it, 'What we don't know won't hurt us; who believes educational research anyway?' And, 'Why should I believe findings I don't like?' Another possibility is that one might fight for additional emphasis on the 'hard' subjects where more effort and more resources seem to be rewarded by better'results. The third, and for me, more exciting response, would be for us to analyze our curriculum in the areas where more time does not seem to make much difference, reform our objectives, and then teach directly towards their achievement.

Of course, there are all kinds of complicating factors. French is 'easy' to teach because it is learned almost entirely in school and children begin from nothing. In all probability, the relationship between time and learning in grade twelve French
would be considerably lower than the statistics I have reported. Teachers (and pupils) may well develop achievement norms, so that increases or decreases in achievement may not be registered as allocated time changes unless there is a concerted effort to change the norms at the same time. In other words, a fifth grade class may complete the same text book, or program of studies, even when the time is increased or decreased. And some objectives are so incomprehensible that one might teach towards them forever without making any discernible difference in learners.

For years, many educators (particularly those far removed from the classroom situation) have been developing more and more abstruse objectives without bothering to determine how they are achieved, if they are achie ved, or even what they really mean. The public may not understand all this sleight of hand that has gone on, but it is making it increasingly clear that it will not tolerate all the gobbledygook. If education costs more, then children should become better readers, better writers, better mathematicians, better singers, more knowledgeable, more scientific, and perhaps even more moral. We educators would do well to look carefully at how we are spending the educational dollar.

## Conclusion

There is growing evidence that the marginal return on additional instruction in some subjects under current conditions is considerable, and that in others it is negligible. This does not necessarily mean we should reduce instructional time to the minimum in subjects where the return is low. It does mean that at least we should examine very carefully our objectives and methods in subjects such as social studies, elementary science and first language. It seems at least possible that the time spent specifically on tasks related to the objectives in those subjects is rather low, even though the overall time allocation may be very high.

Just as Napoleon survived his retreat from Moscow and went on to establish new reforms in France, perhaps we educators can survive the debacle of our Dewey-eyed experiment with Hall-Dennis, and establish methods of instruction that are compatible with the realities of how children learn, rather than with man's chic but evanescent dreams.

## Notes:

1. The Ontario research described in this article was funded by the Ontario Ministry of Education and is available in a paper entitled, 'Instructional Time and Academic Achievement': Mark Holmes assisted by Richard Wolfe.
2. The Intermediate Tests. Principal author: Mark Holmes. Available from OISE's Publication Sales.

# Atypical Gender Behavior in Young Children 

J.K. Finegan, R.W. Doering, S.J. Bradley, K.J. Zucker, and G.M. Gonda, Clarke Institute of Psychiatry

Sandy was particularly well-behaved and easy-to-manage in class. Bright and verbal, Sandy loved to play-act and was remarkably creative and talented. Sandy gravitated to the doll centre during free play time and especially enjoyed dressing up in a wig, high heels and long dress. This youngster integrated well into the group of girls and developed some special friendships. A passive and gentle child, Sandy avoided the boys, especially their rough-and-tumble activities. Sandy demonstrated a great deal of interest in art and often drew pictures of Mom and a favorite television heroine - Wonder Woman.

Sandy is a boy. Were he a girl, this classroom behavior would be of little concern. Since early childhood, he was attracted to pretty things. He loved to try on his mother's jewelry, lipstick, dresses and shoes. At first, his mother did not discourage this behavior, but later when she forbade him to wear her clothes, he was ingenious in creating long hair and dresses from towels and blankets.

Initially, Sandy's parents overlooked or were amused by many of these atypical gender behaviors, but they gradually became concerned that he was different from other boys. However, the family doctor dismissed the child's unusual behavior as 'a passing phase.' Newspaper articles led Sandy's parents to believe that in today's changed culture they should not discourage the development of feminine traits in boys. They did not seek further advice or assistance. Sandy's teacher convinced his parents that they should be concerned about his behavior. The teacher described to them how Sandy's feminine interests were unusual in intensity. Although many boys like to engage in feminine play at times, Sandy's fascination with feminine activities and lack of interest in masculine play clearly distinguished him from the other boys. His feminine behavior seemed more entrenched and enduring and appeared to be of greater psychological importance to him than is usual. The teacher concluded that his parents should obtain a psychiatric evaluation of Sandy's problems and a referral was made to our clinic.

A special service for assessing children like Sandy has been established in the


Male drawing by a feminine boy age $10^{1 / 2}$

Child and Family Studies Centre at the Clarke Institute of Psychiatry in Toronto. Under the direction of Susan Bradley M.D., a child psychiatrist, a thorough assessment is made of these children and their families. Although most parents find it difficult to acknowledge that an assessment is needed for possible gender disturbance in their child, they are relieved that a comprehensive investigation will be undertaken. Treatment is usually recommended and the child and often the family, is referred to a therapist. Annually, the child returns to the clinic for reassessment. This also provides an opportunity for the parents to raise their current concerns.
Most medical and mental health professionals are puzzled by children with gender
identity disturbance. There has been a tendency to minimize the clinical significance of behaviors like those illustrated by Sandy's example. Parents are often told that the child is 'passing through a phase,' with the implication that the child will grow out of it. In most cases, parents are eager to believe this as it supports their inclination to diminish the importance of gender-related problems in their child. However, many studies have shown that relatively few normal children engage in persistent cross-gender behavior.
Moreover, several lines of evidence suggest that gender disturbance in childhood may not be a 'phase.' It may indeed. constitute the emergence of a pattern that culminates in an adult gender disorder.


Female drawing by a masculine girl age 9
Male drawing by a feminine boy age 7

Adult transsexuals, transvestites ${ }^{1}$, and some homosexuals often report childhoods in which the pattern of behavior is remarkably similar to that in the child with atypical gender behavior. The few followup studies of gender disturbed children have shown that only a minority develop a heterosexual orientation in later life. However, the immediate consequences for the child with atypical gender behavior are also of major concern. For example, these children are teased by peers, and are usually stigmatized as they grow older by children and adults.
The gender disturbed child is characterized by a set of striking behaviors. A constellation of the following characteristics raises the question of possible gender disturbance. The essential characteristic is the desire to be the opposite sex. The child expresses the wish quite openly at an early age, but usually these statements do not persist as the child becomes aware that this alarms the adults around him/her. Other characteristics vary in degree and kind but presumably are related to the wish to be the opposite sex. These children enjoy wearing opposite-sex clothing. Typically, they do so as often as they are allowed. They prefer to fantasize and play-act roles of the opposite sex. Conversely, they tend to avoid clothing, toys, games and roles which are associated with their own sex. Not surprisingly, gender disturbed children
are often rejected by same-sex peers and usually prefer to play with opposite-sex children.

Popular notions of androgyny and 'unisex' are conceptually distinct and different from the problem under discussion here. The children seen in the Child and Adolescent Gender Identity Clinic are not merely boys who play with dolls or girls who play soccer. The children seen in the clinic often are confused about whether they are male or female and this is usually associated with a marked personality disturbance. Some of the children vacillate between conceiving of themselves as boys or girls while others rigidly adopt the stereotypic attributes of the opposite sex.

The staff in the clinic do not want to defend sex role stereotyping. On the contrary, it is desirable for all girls and boys to engage in a wide variety of 'masculine' and 'feminine' behaviors. However, for healthy personality development children must establish an appropriate sense of themselves as male or female. Only then can they engage in gender-role flexibility without confusion or distortion of reality.

Gender disturbed children typically are not behavior management problems in class. The schoolteacher often plays a prominent role in the identification of atypical gender behavior. The teacher can be helpful in describing to the parents how
their child plays and relates to others. Here the teacher's task is to bring the problems to the attention of the child's parents.
Teachers often have been successful in encouraging these children to develop friendships with same-sex peers. As well, by reinforcing gender-neutral or same-sex play, teachers have been successful in diminishing the amount of time the gender-disturbed child spends in cross-sex activity.
Teachers have an important role in recognizing the child with atypical gender behavior. The teacher's observations often are important in the parents' decision to obtain a psychiatric assessment of the child. Mental health professionals look to teachers to recognize children with atypical gender behavior and other psychological problems of childhood.

## Note:

1. Transsexuals experience a profound discomfort with their genitals and other gender-related physical attributes. This eventually results in a lasting wish for sex-change surgery. Transvestites derive sexual excitement and/or comfort and relief from anxiety by wearing opposite sex clothing.

## Suggested Reading:

Green, Richard, Sexual Identity Conflict in Children and Adults, Penguin Books, 1974.



# Canadian Parents for French 

Carmeta Abbott, Director, Canadian Parents for French (Ontario)

## 'With so much money being spent on bilingualism, why isn't my child learning French in school?' <br> 'If the government is serious about bilingualism, why isn't it helping Canadian children learn French?'

Keith Spicer, then Commissioner of Official Languages, heard complaints like this so often that he decided to come to the aid of parents who wanted a better linguistic chance for their children. Thirty-five parents and educators met in his office one weekend, and seized that opportunity to found a national organization of parents dedicated to the improvement of French second-language instruction in Canadian schools and to the promotion of all types of French language learning opportunities for their children.

They hoped to remove the sense of isolation which such parents often felt and to reduce duplication of efforts by opening lines of communication about curriculum, research, funding, and exchange programs.

## Goals of Canadian Parents for French

- To assist in ensuring that each Canadian child has the opportunity to acquire as great a knowledge of French language and culture as he or she is willing and able to attain
- To promote the best possible types of French language learning opportunities
- To establish and maintain effective communication between interested parents and educational and government authorities concerned with the provision of French language learning opportunities.

It is the basic right of every child in the Province to learn French by the best available methods for as many school years as he can profit from the experience.
That statement from the 1974 Report of the Ministerial Committee on the Teaching of French - the Gillin report - was reaffirmed in the April 18, 1977, announcement by Thomas Wells, Minister of Education, of a major new program to improve and expand the teaching and learning of French as a second language in Ontario schools. That program defined three levels of achievement, and outlined the grants and financial incentives which the Ministry would provide to boards for approved programs.

The provision of different types of programs to meet varying student goals is one of the strengths of the Ontario

program. It recognizes, on the one hand, that all or most students should have a basic knowledge of French and, on the other, that English-speaking students who want to become fully bilingual should have that opportunity within the school system. It establishes the framework within which each child can acquire 'as great a knowledge of French language and culture as he or she is willing and able to attain.'

## Types of programs

The three basic types of programs are core, extended and immersion.

The goal of the core program (20-40 minutes per day French instruction) is to provide a fundamental knowledge of French grammar and culture which will enable a student to continue the study of French later in life if he so desires. To expect any recognized degree of bilingualism is to misunderstand the aims of the core program.

Where a core program is offered at the elementary school level it is to be universally available within the jurisdiction of the board. During the year 1978-79, 98 percent of students in the intermediate division were taking French, 68 percent in the junior and 36 percent in the primary divisions.

The Ministry is encouraging boards to expand the core program by getting pupils started early on a 40 minute per day program so that by the end of secondary school they will have accumulated the 1200
hours of study deemed the minimum to achieve the basic level of competency. ${ }^{1}$ Students who wish to pursue the top level of competency ${ }^{1}$, English-speaking young people who want to learn to speak French fluently, will enrol in immersion programs ( $100-50$ percent instruction in French), and participate in exchanges or summer camps where they can interact with their Frenchspeaking peers. Immersion programs, where offered, are optional, and parents are usually required to provide transportation for their child to the school where the immersion program is located.

In Ontario, about 24000 students, (2 percent of the English-speaking elementary school population) are enrolled in immersion programs established in 37 jurisdictions.

Extended programs are those in which French plus one or two other subjects are taught in French. Such programs usually exist in the intermediate division to help students attain the basic or the middle level ${ }^{1}$ of competency, or in secondary schools to provide a language maintenance program.

## Who pays?

Boards, ever conscious of their budgets, want to know about costs before they discuss expanding or starting any program. In order to provide their members with answers to financial questions, Canadian Parents for French did a province by province study of funding for all French programs, the results of which were
published in a $C P F$ newsletter and reprinted in the March 1979 CMLR. ${ }^{2}$ Financing is a very complex problem involving the federal government, provincial governments, and local boards, all of whom should work together to provide the best possible French instruction for our children.

There are so many possible ways of assigning costs in a French program that it is hard to know whose facts and figures to accept. Parents sometimes suspect that boards are receiving funds for French programs which are not in fact being spent on those programs. Administrators do not like being asked how much money the board has received for French, and how it is being spent, but it is important to know and that information must be sought courteously, patiently, and firmly.

Canadian Parents for French encourages parents to make well-informed representations to their boards as a primary means of getting the educational opportunities they want for their children. Trustees are influenced by a show of local support for a program as demonstrated by the fact that a number of boards across Canada have initiated French immersion programs as a direct result of petitions brought to them by groups of parents.

## What effect does an immersion program have on the child?

Immersion classes represented such a significant departure from traditional ways of teaching French when they were introduced fifteen years ago that research teams were immediately assigned to study both the academic progress of the children and the effects on their cognitive, emotional, and attitudinal development. No other program has been so thoroughly researched and tested. In summary, the results show that children develop remarkable fluency in French, they cover the elementary school curriculum, and their English language skills are on a par with their English stream peers.

In answer to questions asked by parents contemplating putting their child into an immersion class, James Cummins has summarized the research findings from French immersion programs in Canada. ${ }^{3}$

For people who want more detailed information on research, Canadian Parents for French has just published a bibliography on bilingual education containing 279 annotated references to articles and listings of about 70 books all indexed by topic. This bibliography concentrates on articles published since 1965 which deal directly with the topic of bilingualism in Canada for speakers of English who learn French in intensive or immersion courses. ${ }^{4}$

Where can my child use French outside the classroom?
Parents and teachers alike want children to have the opportunity to use French outside the academic environment. Through newsletters and meetings, parents share in-
formation about enrichment programs for children such as library story hours, arts and crafts programs, sources of French books, and children's plays.

Canadian Parents for French publishes an annual listing of summer French language learning opportunities across Canada, including camp and exchange programs, ${ }^{5}$ and has compiled a list of French language children's magazines and comic books, their cost, and where to order them. ${ }^{6}$ In addition, many FrancoOntarian groups have social and recreational centres, and welcome non-native speakers to participate in their activities providing they can do so in French. ${ }^{7}$

## How good is the core program?

The successes of immersion programs have inspired teachers and administrators to take a fresh look at the French core program with a view to providing an expanded and improved basic course for all Ontario students other than that small percentage who are in immersion programs.

Since its creation, Canadian Parents for French has recognized that the majority of Canadian children would learn French in the core program, and they welcome attempts to improve and expand that program.

Each year, as more students are enrolled in core programs, publishers are responding to the increased demand for texts and teaching aids. The proliferation of materials, coupled with the variety of starting points, has created difficulties in choosing materials suitable to the children's age, and in ensuring that each successive year of a core program builds on the level of achievement already attained by the students.

A Resource List for French Core Programs, an annotated list by division of print and non-print materials, has been compiled by the Ministry of Education, and will soon be sent to each school in the province. In addition to this, Circular 14 for 1979 lists the number of accumulated hours of French each core text presupposes. Sequential programming, as set forth in the Ministry's Guide and Planning Outline for Programs in French as a Second Language, is mandatory. Each board must submit its guide in June when requesting its grant allocations for the succeeding year.

The guidelines for the French core program will set forth the objectìves of this program matched with appropriate activities for any grade level K-13. A copy of the draft of the proposed guidelines was distributed to every school in Ontario, and the Ministry encouraged widespread participation in the validation process. When they are published, Ontario will have its first sequential guide designed to permit boards to start a core program as early as kindergarten or as late as grade 9.

This thoughtful and thorough study includes sections on teaching techniques,
evaluation, and the implications for language learning of the characteristics and attitudinal development of children at different ages. There is an excellent statement of basic philosophy and organizational guides for starting a core program at grades $1,4,7$ or 9 .

## Festival canadien de la Jeunesse bilingue

 In honor of the International Year of the Child, Canadian Parents for French and the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers (CAIT/ACPI) are encouraging children in French immersion classes to participate in activities which will highlight the fact that an ever increasing number of Canadian children are learning to speak French as well as English. They are, therefore, better able to communicate with all Canadians as well as with children of many other lands. A booklet of suggested activities and resources, including the rules for Le drapeau, a game little known outside Quebec, is available to teachers. ${ }^{8}$Anyone who supports the goals of Canadian Parents for French may be a member. Many of CPF's 5000 members are English-speakers who do not speak French, but there are also native French speakers, and people who are professionally involved in French. The Ontario branch of CPF was founded in October 1977 and has about 2000 members in 125 communities.

As more people come to understand the advantages of academic programs in French, CPF goals will come closer to realization.

## Notes:

1 As defined in Teaching and Learning French as a Second Language, Ministry of Education, April 18, 1977.
2 'Funding: Who pays for What?’ Canadian Modern Language Review, Vol. 35, No. 3, March 1979, pp. 467-478.
3 'Research Findings from French Immersion Programs across Canada: A Parents' Guide.' This and other CPF publications are available from Canadian Parents for French, Terminal P.O. Box 8470 Ottawa, Ontario, K1G 3H6 or from: Audrey Spence-Thomas, 101 Balmoral Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, M4V 1 J5.
4 Massey, D. Anthony and Joy Potter,
A Bibliography of articles and Books on Bilingualism in Education, CPF, May 1979.
5 CPF Newsletter, No. 6, March 1979.
6 Rainer, Mary Ann, 'Periodicals and Comic books,' CPF.
7 For a listing by city of Franco-Ontarian organizations see the Annuaire francoontarien 1978 published by Le Conseil des Affaires franco-ontariennes and available for $\$ 1.50$ from the Ministry of Government Services, Publications Department, 880 Bay St., Toronto, Ontario, M7A 1N8 8 Available from CPF or from ACPI Bureau de poste Alta Vista C.P. 8843 Ottawa, Ontario K1G 3H8

# The 'Good Old Days' and Today's Academic Standards 

Ronald J. Duhamel, Assistant Deputy Minister, Dept. of Education, Manitoba An edited version of a speech delivered to
the Ottawa Board of Education Teachers.

I see no hope for the future if it is dependent on the frivolous youth of today, for certainly all youth are reckless beyond words . . . When I was a boy, we were taught to be discreet and respectful of others, but the present youth are exceedingly unwise and impatient of restraint.
Our youth have an insatiable desire for wealth; they have bad manners and atrocious customs regarding dressing and their hair and garments or shoes they wear.
The world is passing through troublesome times. The young people of today think of nothing but themselves. They have no reverence for parents or old age. They are impatient of all restraint; they talk as if they alone know everything ...

These statements might very well be attributed to many critics of today's school system. Does it surprise you that the first is Hesiod's, (an 8th Century B.C. philosopher) the second is Plato's (a particularly well-known writer and philosopher, 5th Century B.C.) and the third is Matthew Paris's? (a writer, 13th Century A.D.).

The point I ann making is simple: elders often feel that the younger generation is undisciplined in comparison to their generation. And frequently, following the criticism of poor discipline, comes the equally timeless cry that academic standards have declined.

It is a myth to believe or to be led to believe that the criticism of education. vis-a-vis academic standards is a recent phenomenon. Sidney Smith, President of the University of Toronto, made the following statement in 1952.

The Department of English recently gave a simple examination to students in all three years of the Pass Course who had elected English as one of their subjects. The
examination was designed to test the student's knowledge of punctuation, the range of his vocabulary, and his ability to summarize a piece of expository prose. The results were, in the highest degree, alarming. The failure rate was 65 per cent. Certainly there is no reason to expect that the failure rate would be any lower if a similar examination were given to students in the faculty of Arts who do not take English, or to students in the professional faculties. Two conclusions present themselves: the training in English given in the high schools is no longer an adequate equipment for work in the university and it appears to be incumbent on the university to take immediate steps to make sure that illiteracy no longer dwells in easy partnership with the possession of a degree.
So, there were problems in 1952 and they existed in earlier times too. There are also problems today and they will continue to appear with others in the future. What are the facts which are available to us concerning 'academic standards?'

A recent Ontario Ministry of Education project by Russell \& Robinson 1975, to examine the characteristics of elementary school mathematics in Ontario, revealed that teachers are spending a good deal of time on computational skills and problemsolving. The study presents evidence to support the position that, contrary to popular belief, there has been no decline in standards at a provincial level. Comparison of similar groups of students today and ten years ago, indicates that today's students possess computational skills that are as good as and often better than, those of students a decade ago.

Mr. Donald Hastings conducted an extensive investigation of the reading abilities of elementary pupils. He looked specifically at reading comprehension ability among grade six students in se veral St. Catharines schools for the years 1933-38, 1952-54, and 1971-72. In brief, data analysis revealed that reading comprehension skills among the population tested have definitely improved over the past forty years; 1971 grade scores were significantly higher than those of 1953 , while scores of 1953 showed equally significant improvement over 1938 grade scores. The median grade score in November 1938, was 6.1; in November 1953; 6.5; and in November 1971, 6.8.

Admittedly, the results of this study cannot be generalized to all grade six children in the province today, and of course, the study does not address itself to the issue of improvement in reading at other levels. Nonetheless, the results do seem to be indicative of a general trend and more extensive testing throughout the province might possibly yield similar findings.

More recently, a province-wide evaluation of grade 7 and 8 students in selected curriulum areas (Holmes, 1977) reveals that, while there appear to be some very specific points of weakness with regard to student abilities as, for example, in the case of computational skills among grade 8 students, there is, at the same time good reason for optimism. In mathematics in the 1976-1977 school year, 65 percent of the testees were rated competent or better. In science, while no great strengths emerged, nonetheless, 79 percent of the pupils tested demonstrated adequate knowledge of basic scientific facts in both biology and physics. Finally, contrary to popular belief, students can communicate intelligibly in written English, with only 3 percent of the testees failing to reach competency level. Of note too, is the large proportion of students ( 60 percent) whose level of performance in this area was rated at the honors or high honors levels. These figures suggest a very definite growth in writing skills at the particular grade levels tested.

Yet another investigation, this one of a longitudinal nature, examined student achievement in language arts and mathematics in grades 5 and 8 in one school system over a forty-year span (Hedges, 1977). Unique, in that it draws upon an extensive data bank based on identical or highly similar tests employed over a lengthy time period, this study, in addition to yielding valuable information and insights on a host of issues relating to student achievement in schools, suggests several major conclusions. First, grade 8 students perform consistently worse than their earlier counterparts in arithmetic computation and reasoning. In contrast, today's children in grades 5 to 7 outperform their earlier counterparts in fundamental mathematical operations. Second, reading comprehension scores reveal a small but steady improvement among grade 6 students over the past forty years, while grade 8 students achieve about


The Standard of squalorship in some our alimentary schools is extraordinarily high.
as well as, or marginally better than, students in the earlier tests. Finally, vocabulary skills and knowledge at all grade levels tested are sharply improved over those of earlier generations of comparable students.

At the high school level, one of the most frequently heard complaints today with regard to the credit system in our high schools is that the wide range of choice in courses has led students to avoid traditionally difficult subjects such as English, mathematics, and history. While there are undoubtedly some individuals who have done exactly that, extensive investigation on the topic of courses and patterns of student choice clearly shows that this is not the case with the majority of secondary schools pupils as identified in the H.S. 1 studies undertaken in 1974.

Even before the mandatory requirements in the new core program, the majority of students opted for more courses in English
and in pure and applied sciences than in traditionally 'softer' courses in communications, arts, and social and environmental sciences. As far as levels of difficulty of courses are concerned, there is no support for the idea that most students tend to choose the 'easy' way out. In the past few years, students have been consistent in choosing high and average difficulty level courses.
In addition, enrolment by area of study as well as level of difficulty remained relatively stable in the decade between 1962 and 1972. The slight overall decline in total enrolment in communications and social and environmental sciences, due in part to the dramatic decrease in foreign language courses, will undoubtedly reverse itself because of the new requirements.
In 1972, 43 percent of the students in grades 10,11 and 12 were enrolled in high difficulty level courses. That figure is
surely satisfactory when one considers that high school enrolments have doubled from 1962 to 1972 and that proportionally fewer academically oriented students, of those who have chosen to pursue their secondary school studies, have continued their secondary school experience.
Undoubtedly, the second most frequently heard criticism regarding educational standards at the secondary level is that which focusses on the abolition in 1967 of province-wide departmental examinations for grade 13 students. Universities quite often criticize this aspect of the new program, maintaining that without this kind of standardized testing, grade 13 results are virtually meaningless in terms of screening for suitable university candidates.
Some remarks by Mr. Frank Kinlin, former Assistant Deputy Minister, at a program development seminar in February 1976, lead one to question the actual efficacy of this time-honoured testing
procedure. Without going into great detail, the gist of Mr. Kinlin's comments was that up until 1967, when departmental examinations ceased to be, the unspoken objective of the grade 13 teacher was to eliminate all doubtful candidates before the June examinations, thereby maximizing the probability of success for those who did attempt them. And on the basis of test results, many drew invalid conclusions as to the real achievement levels of grade 13 graduates.

Still another common practice mentioned by Mr. Kinlin was that of devoting considerable time toward the end of the school year to reviewing old examinations. Furthermore, since it was a relatively simple task to determine the likelihood of a particular topic or item appearing on the examinations of any given year, a disproportionate amount of effort and energy was consumed in 'studying' these crucial elements. As such, one's score on departmental exams did not necessarily reflect actual learning; more often than not, it was a function of very efficient coaching on the part of the teachers and effective memorization of questions and answers on the part of students. This being the case, the re-implementation of province-wide examinations at any level remains a highly dubious proposition.

## The Interface Study

The Secondary/Postsecondary Interface Study released early in 1977 confirms that success in university is predicted as well today by grade 13 marks given by individual schools as it was by marks resultant from provincial exams. Although individual school marks may tend to be inflated, the overall failure rate has not decreased. Inflation of marks had not been substantial in the other years of the secondary school.

In specific subject areas, the Interface Study made some interesting disclosures. There was considerable discrepancy found, for example, between a major stated aim in English (promoting fluent, grammatical communication) and the actual time devoted to accomplishing this aim. In extenuation, it was pointed out that the reduction in time available for English as well as the perceived vagueness of Ministry guidelines were contributing factors. However, the new Ministry of Education guidelines in English are quite detailed and prescriptive in the area of written communications, and it seems that other guidelines as well, particularly in history, will emphasize this important area. The stress is once again that all teachers are responsible for the promotion and development of standards of literacy.
In mathematics, the study concluded that there is generally no cause for alarm. In fact, though there were problems noted in grade 12 , difficulties related to the approach of the testing as well as pupil performance, test results in grade 13 were found to be slightly higher than when the
test was last administered in 1968. The major suggestion made was that mathematics teachers in grade 13 spend more time reviewing certain topics covered in earlier grades, since such topics are important at the university level.

Physics test scores showed a decline of about 6 percent since 1970, and student knowledge appeared to be erratic because of insufficient study given to material. It was suggested that more emphasis be given to basic physical principles in lower grades, and, as in the case of mathematics, review take place in grade 13 .

The Interface study concluded that overall performance of students in French compares favorably with that of students in other countries; pronunciation, and reading and writing skills are consistently acceptable.

At the university level, many of the complaints issuing from admissions office and professors may partly be explained by the dramatically increased enrolments. The obvious solution to the present difficulties lies in a more stringent screening process which will identify individuals of superior ability, if this is the type of candidate the universities desire. However, with grant structures as they are now - based primarily on enrolment figures - and with declining enrolments over the past few years, many universities are undoubtedly reluctant to take steps toward establishing minimal entrance standards. This being the case, individuals of 'average' as opposed to 'superior' ability will continue to form the largest segment of the university population. The brilliant of the ' 70 s may be even more brilliant than their counterparts in previous years but, in actuality, they are outnumbered by the students of average ability who ten years ago simply did not attend university.

Yet another study corroborates this conclusion. Prepared for the Canadian University Teachers of English by Priestly and Kerpneck, 1977, this study was based on an examination of curricula and test results in forty universities across the country. The report concludes that while most students entering university are much less proficient in English than in the past, the top ten percent write as well as they ever did.

In a recent Ontario School Trustees' Council News Bulletin, Dr. John Wherry, Executive Director of the United States National School Public Relations Association, is quoted as follows:
When we are concerned about the number of high school graduates who can't read today, we often forget how many functionally illiterate 60 year olds we also have. And today's schools aren't responsible for them. They are products of the good old days.
Are young people really very different from what they have always been? Or is it rather that as we grow older, time alters our perspectives from the reality of what
was, exaggerates it a bit, and hinders and/or limits us in acknowledging the accomplishments of a younger generation?

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# Le français ontarien un apercu 

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## Introduction

Les résultats de plusieurs études linguistiques consacrées au français ontarien montrent clairement que ce dernier constitue un dialecte ${ }^{1}$ canadien du français qui bien que différent à plusieurs égards du français standard, n'en est pas moins authentique. Ces résultats ne devraient peut-être point surprendre les linguistes contemporains. Toutefois, ils vont à l'encontre de la conception populaire du
français ontarien qui est répandue parmi les membres de la communauté angloontarienne mais que l'on trouve aussi chez certain Franco-ontariens. La manchette d'un article sur le français ontarien publié dans le Globe and Mail (1977) résume cette conception: Le français ontarien est une langue abâtardie. (notre traduction)

Dans le présent article nous aimerions: (a) passer en revue brièvement quelquesuns des résultats des recherches récentes sur le français ontarien, (b) essayer de montrer pourquoi des vues telles que celles disséminées par le Globe and Mail sont non seulement inexactes mais aussi nuisibles à la communauté franco-ontarienne et (c) examiner quelques-unes des implications qu'ont les résultats des recherches récentes sur le français ontarien pour ce qui est de l'enseignement du français en Ontario.

Les affinités du français ontarien avec d'autres dialectes du français canadien Dans plusieurs études consacrées à certains aspects du français ontarien, on a montré que celui-ci a plusieurs traits en commun avec d'autres variétés de français .canadien, notamment avec le français québécois. Ainsi, on a montré que les français ontariens et québécois emploient de la même manière les auxiliaires avoir et être aux temps composés du passé (Canale, Mougeon \& Bélanger 1978). Plus précisément, ces auteurs montrent que ces deux variétés de français utilisent, aux temps composés, l'auxiliaire régulier avoir à la place de l'auxiliaire irrégulier être (ex: $j$ 'ai parti au lieu de je suis parti). L'usage de être est prescrit, dans les grammaires du français standard, pour les verbes pronominaux et pour un petit groupe de

# THE GLOBE AND MAIL. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4. 1977 French language is bastardized in Ontario, college official says <br> <br> By YVES LAVIGNE 

 <br> <br> By YVES LAVIGNE}

The French spoken by Fran-co-Ontarians is a bastard version of the French spoken by the majority of francophones on the planet " inclida.
verbes intransitifs de mouvement et de changement d'état. De plus, ces mêmes auteurs montrent que la 'régularisation' de la conjugaison des temps composés au moyen de l'auxiliaire avoir effecte certains verbes plus que d'autres et que ces verbes sont les mêmes en français ontarien et québécois. Ainsi, certains verbes de mouvement sont presque toujours conjugués avec avoir (ex: tomber, partir) alors que d'autres comme aller et les pronominaux sont le plus souvent conjugués avec être. Dans d'autres études (ex: Mougeon, Bélanger, Canale \& Ituen 1977; Mougeon, Bélanger \& Canale 1978), on constate plusieurs caractéristiques communes dans l'usage des prépositions en français ontarien et québécois. A ce sujet, on peut mentionner l'usage de sur au lieu de la préposition standard chez devant des substantif ou noms propres ayant pour référents des êtres humains (ex: sur mon grand-père au lieu de chez mon grandpère) ou l'emploi des adverbes dessus, dessous, dedans à la place des prépositions sur, sous, dans (ex: dessous la table au lieu de sous la table). On a également noté des similarités entre le français ontarien et le français québécois par rapport à l'usage de la conjonction de subordination que (Beniak Côté \& Mougeon 1978). Plus particulièrement, on a montré que le français ontarien, à l'instar du français québécois (cf. Connors 1975; Sankoff 1973), omet la subjonction que (ex: il pense je vais pas le faire) selon des contraintes phonétiques spécifiques et ajoute que à des conjonctions telles que quand, comment, pourquoi (ex: je sais pourquoi que tu es venu). En dernier lieu, dans une étude consacrée au vocabulaire des travailleurs forestiers de nord-est de l'Ontario (Germain 1977), on trouve des emplois lexicaux qui ont déjà été rapportés dans des études lexicographiques du français québécois (ex: Glossaire du parler français au Canada, 1968). En guise de conclusion à ce bref résumé, on peut dire qu'au fur et à mesure qu'avance la description du français ontarien, il apparaitt de plus en plus
use French to look at the past, not to define what they will be tomorrow."

The major problem, he said, - Franco-Ontarians are -a of the problem. clairement que celui-ci est avant tout un dialecte canadien du français. Le fait qu'il partage de nombreuses caractéristiques avec le français québécois n'est peut-être pas surprenant si l'on considère que la majorité de la population franco-ontarienne actuelle est composée d'immigrants du Québec ou de gens dont les ancêtres viennent du Québec.

## Les affinités du français ontarien avec des variétés contemporaines ou anciennes du français européen

De la même manière qu'on a montré que le français québécois possède des traits qui ont caractérisé des variétés antérieures du français européen, nous avons montré dans plusieurs de nos études sur le français ontarien, que celui-ci possède de semblables préservations. Par exemple, l'omission de que et l'emploi de sur à la place de $c h e z^{2}$ notés plus haut, ou le double conditionnel (ex: si j'aurais su j'aurais pas venu³; cf. Beniak, Côté \& Mougeon 1978), typiques du français ontarien (usités également en français québécois), peuvent être interprétés comme des préservations de constructions propres aux variétés plus anciennes du français européen (cf. entre autres Grevisse 1975 et Haase 1969). Dans un ordre d'idées similaire, Cassano (1977) signale que l'utilisation de être après dans le français de Windsor pour exprimer l'aspect continu (trait êgalement typique du français québécois, cf. Barbeau 1970), peut être interprété comme une préservation du français européen du XVIème siècle. De même, l'usage des prépositions en français ontarien contient de nombreux cas de préservation de traits typiques des variétés plus anciennes du français européen, par exemple l'emploi de à pour introduire des expressions temporelles (ex: à matin; à soir; à c't'heure; à tous les jours). Le lexique du français ontarien abonde également de traits. résiduels qui remontent à des variétés plus anciennes du français. A cet égard, dans une étude consacrée au lexique du français de Prescott-Russel
> function with equal ability both languages. "Our r objective studies show •• per cent of $\mathrm{F}^{\text {- }}$

(Lapierre 1977), on peut trouver des mots tels que broche (fil de fer), échantillon (outil servant à mesurer), batterie (endroit où l'on bat le blé) et boulier (billot) qui jadis étaient utilisés en français européen. Finalement, en ce qui concerne la phonétique, on peut mentionner entre autres choses la présence du phonème / h / en français ontarien contemporain (Léon 1967 et Mougeon et al. en préparation). On entend souvent ce phonème en français ontarien dans des mots ayant un $h$ aspiré en position initiale (ex: le hibou / le hibu / la hache / la haŝ / ). Le $h$ aspiré n'est plus prononcé en français standard moderne. Cependant, on le prononce encore dans quelques dialectes du français européen (en particulier dans le français normand). Par ailleures, on prononçait le $h$ aspiré dans le français d'autrefois, notammeht aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles (cf. Cohen 1967). Il est donc possible de considérer la présence du phonème $h$, en français ontarien ou normand comme une préservation d'une caractéristique des variétés de français européen plus anciennes.

Dans nos études sur le français ontarien, nous avons également identifié des trạits que l'on retrouve dans des variétés contemporaines - et souvent populaires du français européen. L'emploi d'adverbes de lieu à la place de prépositions de lieu, l'addition de que aux conjonctions et la régularisation des temps composés du passé notés plus haut sont des exemples de tels traits. A ceux-ci l'on peut ajouter l'utilisation de la préposition à pour marquer la possession (ex: la maison à ma tante; cf. Beniak et al. 1978) ou celle du pronom relatif que à la place de son équivalent standard dont (ex: L'auto que je me sers à tous les matins). Tous ces usages ont été signalés pour le français européen par Frei (1971) et Guiraud (1973).

Le français ontarien n'est pas un mélange de français et d'anglais
On ne peut nier que l'anglais a eu une influence sur l'évolution du français ontarien (cf. Mougeon, Bélanger \& Canale
1978). Toutefois, la présence en français ontarien d'un nombre restreint d'expressions indiscutablement attribuables à l'emprunt à l'anglais n'est pas une raison suffisante pour qualifier le français ontarien de langue hybride (cf. par exemple Hull 1956 ou Orkin 1971 pour de semblables exagérations au sujet de variétés du français ontarien). Dans nos propres recherches sur le français ontarien, nous avons trouvé qu'un bon nombre des structures grammaticales qui reflètent l'influence possible de l'anglais peuvent être interprétées tout aussi bien comme des développements naturels et logiques de la langue français (cf. par exemple Mougeon, Bèlanger \& Canale 1978 ou Canale, Mougeon, Bélanger \& Ituen 1978). De plus, pour ce qui est du nombre limité d'expressions qui pouvaient être attribuées indiscutablement à un transfert de l'anglais (calques, traductions littérales, ex: la télévision est dessus/the television set is on), on a trouvé que de telles expressions étaient utilisées peu fréquemment en comparaison de leurs équivalents français. Ceci nous a amenés à a vancer l'hypothèse que l'interférence de l'anglais, à elle seule, ne constitue pas une force capable d'affecter d'une manière significative l'évolution de la structure du français ontarien contemporain. Selon Sapir (1921:220): 'Le langage est probablement le plus autarchique et le plus résistant des phénomènes sociaux. Il est plus facile de l'exterminer que de désintégrer sa forme propre.' (notre traduction)

## Conclusion

A mesure que la recherche linguistique sur le français ontarien se développe, il apparaît de plus en plus évident que le français ontarien n'est pas un jargon abâtardi mais un authentique dialecte qui pariage de nombreuses caractéristiques avec d'autres dialectes du français (passés ou présents et canadiens ou non canadiens). Il est important de reconnaître que le français ontarien, quoiqu'il differe de plusieurs façons du français européen standard contemporain, n'en constitue pas moins un système linguistique authentique. Comme tout dialecte du français, il possède à la fois un ensemble de traits caractéristiques et de règles qui le différencie des autres dialectes et un noyau d'éléments linguistiques et de règles commun à tous les dialectes du français. En tant que systeme linguistique se conformant à des règles, le français ontarien constitue un outil bien adapté aux besoins de communication de la communauté franco-ontarienne.

A notre avis, il y a plusieurs raisons importantes de présenter le français ontarien comme un dialecte authentique et de dénoncer l'inexactitude et le manque de fondement des opinions telles que celle disséminée par le Globe and Mail. Une conception négative du français ontarien peut servir de justification pour refuser ou limiter le soutien que la société ontarienne
et le gouvernement ontarien pourraient accorder au maintien du français en Ontario. Le raisonnement serait le suivant: une communauté linquistique minoritaire qui parle un dialecte inférieur n'est pas digne de recevoir l'appui de la société. On doit également mentionner qu'une conception négative de la langue d'une communauté linguistique peut avoir des conséquences néfastes sur la perception que les membres de cette communauté ont d'eux-mêmes (cf. Hall, Jr. 1960 et Labov 1972). De plus, affirmer qu'une communauté linguistique donnée parle une variété de langue abâtardie et inférieure, équivaut presque à dire que les membres de cette communauté sont également inférieurs.

Etant donné que les jeunes Francoontariens ont de plus en plus tendance à s'assimiler à la majorité anglophone (cf. Castonguay 1976 et Mougeon \& Canale 1978), il nous semble très important de déraciner les préjugés à l'égard du français ontarien et d'affirmer l'authenticité de ce dialecte. Faute de quoi, on risque d'inciter encore plus de jeunes Franco-ontariens à rejeter la langue française. Nous croyons que les écoles ontariennes de langue française peuvent aider la communauté franco-ontarienne à améliorer sa perception du français ontarien. Nous exhortons tous les éducateurs franco-ontariens et surtout ceux qui sont responsables de l'enseignement du français, à réexaminer leurs opinions à la lumière des récentes recherches sur le français ontarien et face à la désaffection grandissante pour le français décelée chez les jeunes Francoontariens. Nous espérons qu'un tel réexamen amènera un nombre plus grand d'enseignants de français langue maternelle à comprendre la nécessité de suivre une approche pédagogique plus tolérante et positive à l'égard du français ontarien et plus encourageante pour les Francoontariens. On peut espérer que cette approche entraînera une intensification de l'utilisation du français par les jeunes Franco-ontariens.

Cependant, une telle approche ne veut pas dire qu'on doive pas encourager les élèves franco-ontariens à acquérir une variété de français canadien plus standard. L'apprentissage et la maîtrise d'une telle variété de français par les élèves francoontariens (un des buts principaux des écoles de langue française) est nécessaire à l'avancement social et économique de ces élèves et pourrait leur permettre un certain élargissement culturel (cf. Mougeon \& Beniak 1979). A ce sujet, nous avons signalé dans cette même étude qu'une approche tolérante à l'égard du français ontarien pourrait amener une meilleure acceptation et par la même une meilleure acquistion du français canadien standard par les élèves.

En outre, il nous semble que les résultats de la recherche linguistique francoontarienne examinés plus haut pourraient intéresser les enseignants de français
langue seconde en Ontario. Ces enseignants pourraient utiliser les résultats des études descriptives du français ontarien afin de produire du matériel didactique dont ils se serviraient pour développer chez leurs élèves une plus grande familiarité avec le français ontarien et le français canadien d'une façon plus générale (cf. Ullman \& Balchunas 1979). Ainsi, les apprenants et enseignants de français langue seconde pourraient profiter de contacts avec les Franco-ontariens pour améliorer leurs capacités de communication en français.

En dernier lieu, nous pensons que ce que nous venon d'énoncer au sujet de l'authenticité du français ontarien et de la nécessité d'affirmer cette authenticité, s'applique aussi aux variétés de français parlées dans les huit autres provinces majoritairement anglophones. Par exemple, quelques uns des résultats d'une enquête dialectologique de grande envergure sur le français acadien (Massignon 1962) indiquent que ce dialecte du français, tout comme le français ontarien, partage certains traits avec des variétés de français plus anciennes et avec le français québécois. Outre cela, il a été établi (Lieberson 1970) que les jeunes canadiens français des provinces de l'ouest et des maritimes (sauf le NouveauBrunswick) s'assimilent à la majorité anglophone à un rythme encore plus accéléré que les Franco-ontariens. Si dans ces provinces le français fait aussi l'objet d'une perception négative, il sera d'autant plus nécessaire de s'assurer que les dialectes de ces communautés francophones soient présentés de façon scientifique et sous un jour favorable.

## Notes:

1. Dans cet article le mot dialecte est employé dans son sens linguistique, une variété de langue utilisée par les gens natifs d'une région donnée et non pas dans son sens populaire, variété de langue inférieure, populaire, etc.
2. On n'a pas encore établi de façon certaine les origines de cette construction. Selon Juneau \& Poirier (1973), l'utilisation de sur pour chez remonte au moyen français. Nous émettons l'hypothèse qu'elle représente peut-être une extension d'expressions du type sur la terre de.
3. Ceci est un exemple de l'utilisation du double conditionnel et de la régularisation du passé du cońditionnel du verbe venir au moyen de l'auxiliaire avoir selon l'usage décrit plus haut.

## References:*

Globe and Mail. (le 4 octobre 1977). French language is bastardized in Ontario. Mougeon, R. et Beniak, E. 1979. Recherches linguistiques appliquées à l'enseignement du français langue maternelle en Ontario. Revue des Sciences de l'Education, 'Vol. 5, No. 1.

* A complete list of references is available from the authors.


# FOOTBALL ... 



## Dear Editors:

The continuing discussion about football in the high school is a healthy exercise if emotional entanglements can be avoided. Mr. Cooke, senior football coach of Westmount Secondary in Hamilton, has added more heat than light to the discussion with his rather passionate attack (Orbit 48) on Anthony Martin for daring to differ with him in Orbit 47.

Such senior football coaches always demand solid statistical evidence from those advocating dropping football while seeing no such hard data needed to launch the most expensive sport played at high school. This is because football is such an emotional issue with the pro-football group that it clouds their vision either of what is appropriate for children or what is fair in discussion. Mr. Cooke says that the most important consideration (in whether or not to play football) should be its 'compatibility with the stated aims and objectives of the institution as they reflect the values and folkways of the society at large.' I would say that without the solid statistical data. Mr. Cooke invokes, it is impossible to state the degree to which football represents the values and folkways of the society at large. You see, only in North America is football played and then only in educational institutions at the amateur level. This does little or nothing to train young people in activities which will keep them fit when they leave schools; because of the expense, the need for special equipment and playing areas, and the emphasis on a team.

If we want to do something about the epidemic of heart disease which has swept North America since the 1920s, we've got to get people out doing healthy activities such as cross-country skiing and hiking rather than ensure that we become a nation of spectators, which is what football trains students to be. Our main consideration
should be the physical fitness of young people rather than some mystic relationship with the 'values and folkways of our society' as seen through the eyes of nostalgic ex-university football buffs.

Mr. Cooke is enamoured of solid data. Here are a few items for his considerations.

The nearest cost appraisal I can get about the cost of installing football in a collegiate comes to $\$ 13000$ for equipping two teams. An annual replacement cost of 10 percent adds $\$ 1300$ to it. This, of course, doesn't mention officials' costs, bus transportation (which has really risen in cost) and cleaning of uniforms, etc. When one considers the total number participating and the percentage of the total school budget this represents, it becomes evident that something has gone awry. Consider also the unequal division of funds between girls' physical education and boys' physical education budgets and you will see that approximately 50 percent of the school population is deprived of funds in order to cater to the football team and it is football which accounts for the distortion of budget allocations. Touch football is completely different and would cost about $\$ 200$ for a 15 -man squad. Incidentally, there are ten minor football leagues in Toronto which students can join if they are truly interested, and such an authority as Mel Profit asserts that Canada won't have first rate professional football teams until it's taken out of the schools into the leagues.

Apart from boxing which is hardly a team sport, football is the only one I know about where players are instructed to damage someone deliberately to take him out of the play. If Mr. Cooke doesn't think quarterbacks are removed in this fashion by teams across Canada then he can't focus properly through those rose-tinted glasses.

Mr. Cooke says that Mr. Martin represents vested interests forcing the
school into directions that do not reflect the views of the general population. This is quite a two-edged sword when you realize how many young people are pressured into playing football because of size or weight factors when they really may not be all that keen on it.

Our young people are generally unfit, if the Manitoba schools' fitness report is any indication, yet the teams begin playing in September after about six days' training. A professional team takes six weeks at least, has a professional trainer who can see injuries with a potential for serious later problems, has a doctor and ambulance in attendance and its members have completed the growing process so that musculature and bone structure are both mature.
The Grey Cup syndrome really has no place in the high schools of Ontario, where 97 percent of students are under 18 . The game may have value among consenting adults but what place does it have in publicly supported institutions where the enormous expenses are paid by the taxpayer to put young people aged $13-18$ at such risk?

Just to conclude, I think it's really humorous to find so obviously biased an individual as Mr. Cooke declaring that Mr. Martin is less than an unbiased commentator. I'm glad he doesn't mention school spirit as a major consideration, because everyone knows what tiny proportion of the students stay to watch a Friday afternoon game when classes are discontinued for it.

I think Mr. Cooke is an unwitting apologist for the idea of high school as a training ground for professional teams. His final remark is that the best interests of everyone involved with football would be better served without the negative comments of people such as Mr. Martin. As a history teacher he should realize that honest dissent is a main lever to improve society and that the supporters of the

# and CIRCULAR 14 

status quo enshrine ritual to the detriment of all. Who is there to speak up for the children if not the likes of Mr. Martin?

Considering the small number who play, the really large continuing expense and the likelihood of long term intervertebral disc and knee cartilage problems, it becomes apparent that this is one game that the high schools of Ontario could well do without.

Yours truly
M. F. Roberts

Principal, Albert Campbell Collegiate Institute, Scarborough.

Dear Editors:
The publication of 'The Circular 14 story' by J. Fraser in Orbit 49 is an important event. In the course of doing my research on textbooks I have found that teachers and, indeed, most educators are woefully ignorant of how textbooks get from the publisher to the classroom. The ignorance is only outstripped by their lack of knowledge of how a textbook comes into existence in the first place and their lack of knowledge of how to evaluate it.

So the information is important. That is why I want to add a few comments. But before making them I want to make a very important point. Ontario, over any other province, certainly does have regulations which ensure that the books used in Ontario schools are written or edited by Canadians and manufactured in Canada. Having said that I would not be prepared to admit that their actual performance in ensuring the development of a Canadian perspective is any better than any other province. That performance in general is quite abysmal.

How can my opinion and that of Fraser's differ so greatly? Let me try to explain. 'Canadian,' Fraser notes, 'means that textual materials must be written or edited by a Canadian citizen or citizens, manufactured in Canada, and reflect a Canadian identity:' I have trouble with the last phrase. I did not know that this was part of the regulation. In fact, I suspect that it is not; unless it is made operational in such a way as to ensure, for instance, that a Canadian history course is not totally concerned with U.S. history. Practically speaking, Circular 14 has not at all ensured the
articulation of what might be called a Canadian point of view. I would wager that the majority of Ontario school children emerge from Grade 6 having been introduced in Language Arts to less knowledge about Canada and fewer examples of Canadian writing than they would get from reading one evening newspaper in any major Canadian city.

Fraser fails to make at least one crucial distinction. He fails to distinguish between Canadian owned publishers and foreign controlled branch plants.

The $\$ 44.2$ million Canadian educational publishing industry is dominated by multinational companies. They are the companies which account for the lion's share of that $\$ 33,400,000$ bill Canadians pay each year for American books. They are also the companies which design textbooks, as my article in Orbit 49 pointed out, which have as little as 8 percent Canadian content although they can design reading series which have as much as 80 percent Canadian content.

Business form and ownership are extremely important matters as anyone in the world of business will admit. As one McGraw-Hill executive is reported to have said, the responsibility of the branch plant is to prepare the market for the parent. From a different perspective, HoughtonMifflin of the U.S have kept their financial position such that they can resist takeovers from the large non-publishing, multinational conglomerates. As a colleague Anne Carscallen has noted, once' a diversifying conglomerate takes over a publishing company, in all likelihood, what develops is not a cultural product but a corporate product. In a more limited sphere, and again as my article argues, multinational publishers produce multinational products, products which reflect what is common between the country of the parent and the country of the branch plant rather than what distinguishes the two. In so doing they create a momentum towards assimilation rather than towards the articulation of a Canadian identity.

As Fraser claims, Ontario may well be working through its regulations for a healthy publishing activity in Canada but when that activity is dominated by foreign companies, the value of that enterprise becomes more suspect.

One other major point slides by in Fraser's piece. He notes that between 1949 and 1979 the number of titles on Circular 14 increased from 101 to 2182 . He notes that the main reason for this astonishing increase was to accommodate 'a more open,

flexible, activity-oriented approach'. My version of the truth is that the provincial governments, in all provinces which could afford it, have been forced over the past two or three decades to accept the extension of the ideology of the marketplace. Besides being international in orientation that ideology proposes that it is important that the consumer has choice, even if that choice is trivial. Thus just as doctors prescribe the well-publicised drugs of their favourite high-profile drug companies rather than generic drugs, so teachers can be persuaded to use wellpublicised, fancy looking textbooks. As Paul Robinson has pointed out, only one course exists in Canada which provides teachers with any training in the evaluation of textbooks. Actually he is wrong. There are two, his and mine. And since teachers cannot fall back on generic textbooks they must decide on the basis of personal preferences, availability, the opinions of their like-education peers, and the hoopla of the sales representative not exactly a sure-fire combination for a sound educational decision.

Circular 14 does do a job. It keeps out so called 'Canadianized' series such as Ginn 720 and purely foreign series. That is not quite the job claimed by Fraser.
R. Lorimer, Simon Fraser University.

## The National Museum of Man

## Resources the <br>  COR

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It is impossible in this short article to do justice to the treasure troves offered on free loan by the National Museum of Man. What follows is a brief selection. Further information may be obtained from:

National Loans Program
The National Museum of Man 921 St. Laurent Boulevard Ottawa, K1A 0M8.
Telephone (613) 993-0141
CATALOGUE (English \& French)
This is color coded into sections. As new material becomes available, updated inserts are sent to schools. Listings at present are:

- Introduction and Ordering Information
- Many Peoples, Many Cultures (series)
- Inuit (series)
- Indians of Canada (series)
- Canadian History (series)
- The Museum (series)
- Other Resources and Programs.


## KITS

The Museum will ship each kit prepaid together with a prepaid return mail sticker. Material may be borrowed for TWO WEEKS (excluding travelling time) and schools are asked to keep to a strict schedule. Borrowers from the National Capital area must pick up and return kits to: 921 St . Laurent Boulevard, Ottawa.

The Museum kit program features over 60 different themes. Each kit is a multi-media, multi-dimensional collection of materials. Included in the kits is a selection of the following:

- artifacts and specimens
- one or two 16 mm films
- two or three filmstrips
- 35 mm slides
- sound cassette with commentary
- overhead transparencies
- maps, charts and diagrams
- booklets, fact sheets and a suggested bibliography
- a Museum Kit manual.
*Kits marked by an asterix are not as sophisticated as the ones described above.

Examples of Kits:
The Toy Box (age level 10-13)


A summer student demonstrates the "Lunch Box" kit during a children's workshop offered by the Museum during the summer months. The Activity Centre is fairly buzzing with programmed events all year long. Regional Programme Information (613-992-3497)

Within the kit, toys have been grouped into four categories: Dolls from Around the World; Items that have Moved from Weapon to Toy Use; Universal Toys; Items that have Moved from Ritual to Toy Use.

The Lunch Box (age level 11-14) Through the universal theme of food, students are encouraged not only to explore the historical roots of their own ethnic background and community but also to understand and appreciate the culturally diverse nature of Canada.
*Primitive Art - A selection of objects created by artists and craftsmen of yesterday and today. Related print and audio-visual material included.
*Dolls - a multicultural kit including including dolls from Canada's many ethnic groups.
*Musical Instruments - Contains examples from around the world.
*Primitive Money - examples of various forms of monetary systems.
*Artifacts of Africa - a general kit depicting the material culture of Africa.

Art of the Inuit (age level 11-13) Examples of Inuit craftsmanship are contained in this kit, together with art supplies which may be used by the borrowing groups to explore printmaking or sculpture.


The Museum kit programme features over 60 different themes. Each theme is developed within one "box". Here one can perceive how the protective packaging (shaped Ethafoam) not only guards the artifacts in transit but serves as excellent display panels during interpretation sessions.

Skin, Snow, Stone and Bone (age level 11-13)
This kit is designed to illustrate the Inuit's ingenious use of available natural resources. It contains audiovisual materials, books, pamphlets, fact sheets but most importantly, the artifacts of the Inuit themselves.
*Inuit Life - A general kit which encourages exploration of the various facets of life in Canada's North.
*Inuit Clothing - shows how the Inuit use the resources available to protect themselves from the cold.



Bluevale Collegiate Institute, located on a 20 -acre site in the northeast section of the city of Waterloo was designed primarily as a highly flexible teaching-learning environment, one in which the facilities are planned to meet the constantly evolving needs of secondary education.

Construction techniques have encouraged this flexibility. Bluevale's second and third floors have been built using a modular systems approach, one in which all basic units such as ceiling and wall panels, light and heat service systems, PA system, telephone, and television installations are the same size throughout the school and can be interchanged when necessary. This means that classrooms and other teaching areas can be constantly adapted to benefit new educational approaches.

Flexibility is also the keynote in Bluevale's major complex which includes two lecture halls, the cafetorium, the stage and the music room. Folding partitions between these areas mean that each one can be sealed off for a special purpose, or
opened up to allow students and teachers maximum use of the space available.

Bluevale's technical shops and gymnasia also highlight this adaptability. The electricity-electronics shop for example, has two teaching centres so that both subjects can be taught in the same room. The gymnasia have balconies where, when the folding partitions are open, gymnastics, modern dance or wrestling classes can be held while other groups use the gymnasia floors.

As the fourteenth secondary school in Waterloo County, Bluevale Collegiate, with a capacity of 1,620 students, is as adaptable in its program and construction as the schools of tomorrow will have to be to meet the changing needs of students and of society. Since the school opened in 1972, we have concentrated on academic excellence and concern for students as individuals. We believe that an education is more than just academic achievement;
it should also allow students to grow into responsible young men and women.

Decision making and staff communication are often problems in any secondary school and B.C.I. is no exception. However, we have attempted to solve these problems. At B.C.I., we have an Academic Council composed of the major department heads, the principal and the vice-principal. They are timetabled to meet every nine days and at their meetings they make all the major decisions concerning the school. The department heads on Academic Council inform their teachers of these decisions at regularly timetabled department meetings. Information is, therefore, readily available and the communication gap is felt to be somewhat less than in a traditional structure.

Bluevale has become a focal point of the community and the principal and staff hope that the public continues to take an active interest in the school and in the programs it offers.

